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ABSTRACT

The Aspen Institute formed a National Commission on Coping with Interdependence to investigate the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence and consider how that capacity can be enhanced. This paper responds to two questions: to what extent do our existing institutions perceive the predicament, analyze its implications, and act in accordance with that analysis; and what new attitudes and arrangements may be required to enhance the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence. It was found that the capacity of American education is limited by a lack of political consensus, the complex character of many interdependence issues, and the nature of the educational enterprise. Other problems are the constitutional incongruity that public education is a state and local responsibility while most interdependence issues are perceived as national concerns, decentralization of education makes educational change difficult to introduce, education is only one of many means to inform the public, and some embedded cultural views exist that inhibit efforts. Thus, a sustained effort to bring about a new and expanded civic literacy on interdependence issues is required. This effort involves strategy development, policy support, development of a stronger knowledge base, analysis of embedded cultural views, strengthening of existing cooperation activities, and assistance from the educational community for the mass media. (ND)

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A New Civic Literacy

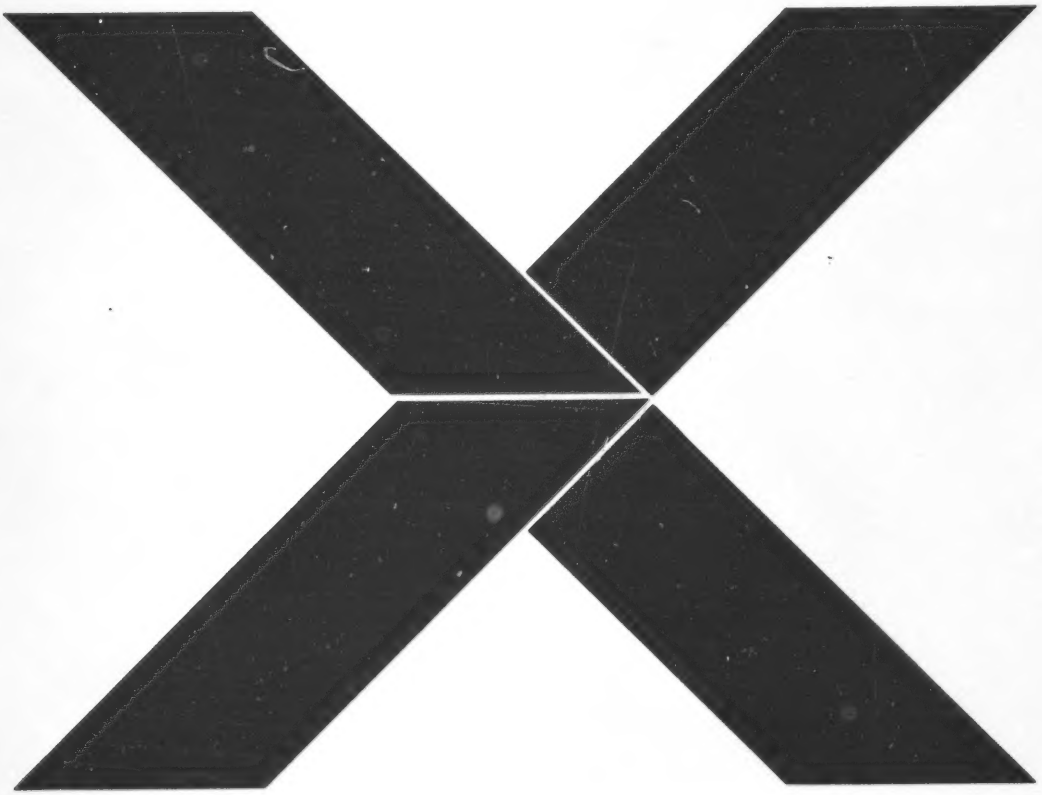
American Education and Global Interdependence

A Paper Prepared for the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence

by Ward Morehouse

With a Foreword by

Harlan Cleveland



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Foreword

The Most Important Subject

> *Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject we as a people are engaged in.*
>
> —*Abraham Lincoln*[1]

Acting on a suggestion by John Richardson, the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Chairman of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Robert O. Anderson, late last year invited a group of distinguished citizens to serve on a National Commission on Coping with Interdependence. (A list of members is at the end of this report.)

The Commission's task was described by Mr. Anderson: "to assess the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence, and consider what might be done to enhance that capacity." The Commission began its deliberations in December of 1974, and is programmed to self-destruct after a final meeting in Philadelphia in November of 1975.

The Commission has been seeking answers to four questions:

1 In view of our growing interdependence with other nations (of which the energy crisis is only one example), what adjustments in American life styles and workways seem to be indicated, and on what time scales?

2 What do recent public opinion polls tell us about the readiness of Americans for the projected kinds of changes? Are "the people" ahead of their leaders in willingness to adjust their life and work for reasons of international interdependence?

3 To what extent do our existing institutions perceive the predicament, analyze its implications for individual and group behavior, and act in accordance with that analysis?

4 What new attitudes and arrangements may be required to enhance the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence?

In papers commissioned and published by the Aspen Institute, Abraham M. Sirkin and Michael W. Moynihan have addressed the first two questions.[2] This third paper by Dr. Ward Morehouse, the man long responsible for developing education for world citizenship in the New York State Department of Education, attempts an answer to the third and fourth questions, as they apply to educational systems.

In probing the major institutions of American society for their perception about interdependence, and their adaptive policies or actions, we have found some strikingly common themes.

- While "interdependence" defies precise definition, everyone seems to know that it's a fact, that it deeply affects the life and work of Americans in 1975, and that it will probably affect us much more in the years and decades to come.

- By and large, people seem to be more willing than their leaders give them credit for to face up to the adjustments which international interdependence may require of them. The revolution in attitudes about, for example, environment and population, seems to have come out of the grass roots rather than leadership in any of the institutional sectors. The polls continue to suggest that people-in-general are readier for a national energy policy than are their political leaders.

- To the extent that interdependence may impose burdens that must be widely shared—as the Arab oil embargo did and future energy shortages may yet do—we the people are ready to make major adjustments in our life styles and workways if (a) someone with credibility tells us that it is in the public interest and (b) the distribution of the burden is obviously fair.

But in the absence of clear signals, the situation is that everybody agrees that interdependence is here to stay, and nearly everybody devoutly hopes that somebody else will do something about it.

The American educational system is naturally looked to as the leading oar in this boat we are all in together. If the issue is perceptions about the future, and timely adjustment to complexities that will be harder to adjust to later, then the key adjustments start with what young people learn in school. But as Dr. Morehouse brings out, the educational system is caught in a bind. Education

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[1] Cited in Fred M. and Grace Hechinger, *Growing Up in America*, (New York: McGraw Hill), 1975.

[2] Abraham M. Sirkin, *Living with Interdependence: The Decades Ahead in America*, Interdependence Series No. 2, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1975.

Michael W. Moynihan, *Attitudes of Americans on Coping with Interdependence: Findings of Opinion Research Organizations*, Interdependence Series No. 1, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1975.

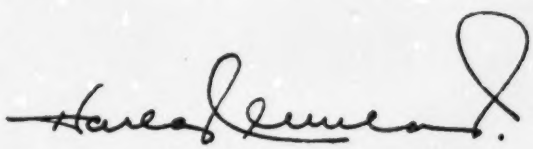
is, constitutionally and psychologically, a matter for state and local control and initiative. Yet the key interdependence issues—energy, food, raw materials, population, the global environment, the oceans, communications, trade, investment, money and above all security in a world full of nuclear fuel—are clearly not in state and local jurisdiction. It's been hard enough for the local school boards and state school officers to cope with the students, and latterly to cope with organized teachers, too. Coping with international interdependence can surely be left for the federal government to worry about.

It is not good enough for internationalists just to be hortatory about getting global perspectives into the schools. American school systems have well developed defenses against the intrusion of outside enthusiasts with something to sell. The students in our public schools constitute, as my colleague Francis Keppel puts it, the nation's greatest and most attractive sucker list. Everybody who has anything to sell—a particular make of dishwasher, a political nostrum, a religious doctrine, a global perspective—would naturally like to get at this market of future American adults, and get at them as early in life as possible. Little wonder that teachers and school administrators almost instinctively form a phalanx of resistance that does not easily distinguish between those outsiders who are selling frivolities and those who are selling civic literacy. Those of us with global perspectives to sell may chafe at the sluggish reaction of American public education, but we had better first try to understand its profound and not illogical motivation.

Dwindling enrollments and a nationwide budget squeeze are two more strikes against innovation. For the next twenty or thirty years, the public schools will be managed and the students taught by pretty much the same people who are now on board; there will be fewer younger teachers coming in at the bottom, a growing ratio of tenured to non-tenured faculty, slower rates of replacement. We are talking, for the most part, about on-the-job-retraining.

There are key points of leverage. One is certainly the teachers of social studies in the secondary schools—but there are more than 150,000 of them. Another is the publishers of textbooks, whose guesses about what teachers want to teach is the most important single factor in the content of what students are given to learn. But at best, Dr. Morehouse thinks, the spreading of global perspectives through public school curricula is going to be agonizingly slow.

It has been hard enough to try to prepare the nation's youth for responsive and responsible participation in local and national affairs. Now the system is asked to help young Americans become responsive and responsible citizens of an interdependent world. The new assignment would be ridiculous if it were not also imperative. Once again, in preparing to cope with interdependence, education is "the most important subject we as a people are engaged in."



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Princeton, New Jersey
October 1975

I A Summary View

The lack of political consensus on the nature and extent of global interdependence, the future-oriented, long-term, complex character of many interdependence issues such as energy, food, population, and the environment, and the institutional inertia, historical parochialism, and social conservatism of the educational enterprise all limit the capacity of American education to help us cope with interdependence. This potential is further limited by the constitutional incongruity that public education is a state and local responsibility while most interdependence issues are perceived, at least by state and local political and educational leaders, as being primarily related to the concerns of the national government and our external relations. The decentralized character of American education also makes more difficult the introduction of widespread educational change to respond to the challenge of global interdependence.

To compound the problem still further, formal education is only one means by which Americans learn about the rest of the world and the problems of interdependence and possibly not the most important; to cite the obvious example, the mass media are a major source of information and ideas. There is also some evidence pointing to a range of world views embedded in American popular culture which are likely to inhibit efforts by educational institutions to introduce alternative views of the international order more compatible with the realities of global interdependence.

The educational enterprise, nonetheless, has a vital role to play in preparing present and future generations of Americans to cope with interdependence. Universities contain intellectual skills needed to develop the knowledge base about global interdependence; developing a more secure knowledge base should facilitate greatly the building of political consensus on what we should do about global interdependence. The mass media by their very nature are event-centered, imposing on schools and colleges an obligation to provide students with the continuity and depth of understanding demanded by complex, long-term interdependence issues. Schools, furthermore, have the golden opportunity, if they will but use it, of shaping the world views of future generations of Americans along lines more compatible with the realities of global interdependence before these world views become hardened through maturation along other less compatible lines.

What is required is a sustained effort to bring about a new and expanded civic literacy on key interdependence issues. Among the major elements in such an effort are these:

1 Development of a comprehensive, long-range strategy to achieve this new and expanded civic literacy on the realities of global interdependence through curriculum revision, teacher training, and community education;

2 Policy support by political, educational, and other leaders at the national and state levels to legitimize local initiatives in implementing this strategy and to give priority status to such initiatives in allocating funds under existing programs for educational change and improvement;

3 Development of a stronger knowledge base on interdependence issues as a means of furthering political consensus;

4 Further analysis of the world views embedded in American popular culture and experimentation with ways of shaping these views to make them more compatible with the realities of global interdependence;

5 Strengthening of existing activities and development of new patterns of long-term cooperation with intellectual and educational communities throughout the world to enable us to understand interdependence issues not only through our own eyes but also as others see them;

6 A major effort by the educational community to assist the mass media in dealing with the realities of global interdependence—through overseas internships as an integral part of professional training in the field of mass communications, mid-career fellowships for correspondents at U.S. universities and overseas to deepen their knowledge of interdependence issues, and background seminars for editors in the electronic and print media on emerging trends in relation to these issues. Parallel efforts are needed with other institutions such as trade unions, farm organizations, business corporations, churches, civic and women's groups, and public libraries.

II Getting a Fix on Global Interdependence

> *If mankind is to rescue life, it must first preserve the very will to live, and thereby rescue the future from the angry condemnation of the present. The spirit of conquest and aspiration will not provide the inspiration it needs for this task. It is the example of Atlas, resolutely bearing his burden, that provides the strength we seek.... But Atlas is, of course, no other than ourselves.... We do not know with certainty that humanity will survive, but it is a comfort to know that there exist within us the elements of fortitude and will from which the image of Atlas springs.*
>
> *Robert L. Heilbroner in*
> An Inquiry into the Human Prospect

Among the more somber portraits of man's future is that painted by Robert L. Heilbroner in *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*.[1] The gap between our existing social institutions and values and the future requirements of human survival on an overcrowded, environmentally deteriorating planet is so great, he argues, that meaningful existence in the long-term future can be assured only if mankind assumes the heroic burdens of Atlas. This apocalyptic view suggests that closing the gap between our present disposition and the requirements of the future should be the central task on the human agenda. There is not much evidence to indicate that it is, but guided by the homely wisdom that a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step, this paper is an exploration of the role which the educational enterprise is playing and might play in helping American society grapple with the uncertainties and frustrations of a globally interdependent future.

"Global interdependence" is a fuzzy, imprecise term. It has already acquired a rhetorical momentum of its own, rolling euphoniously off the tongues of scholars and statesmen. Yet few would be able to define what they mean by global interdependence in hard, concrete terms.

Even if statesmen and scholars were able to provide such definitions, there would be little consensus among them about these definitions. While specialists who have been analyzing future economic and social trends have for some time been pointing to the emergence of "interdependence" problems, their own projections differ widely, and they subject one another to challenge and attack, making it more difficult for the general public to figure out just what in fact lies ahead.[2]

A good part of the problem of achieving political consensus as a prelude to political action lies in the fact that a number of interdependence problems appear to lie far in the future. Yet it is in the very nature of things that generating the political will to act frequently requires a crisis. Energy is a classic case in point. While numerous analyses of future demand and supply of oil pointed to the emergence of a significant problem sometime in the 1970's, it took the four-fold increase in the price of crude oil and the Arab embargo in 1973 to force the issue dramatically into the public consciousness.[3]

Energy also illustrates another quality about some interdependence problems which impedes the task of building public understanding as a basis for political action at the governmental level and for changes in behavior patterns and attitudes by individuals and institutions—namely, its short-term, fluctuating variability as a "problem." *The Economist* in February, 1974 published an article entitled "The Coming Glut of Oil," suggesting that within five to ten years, the world would be confronted with large, unmarketable surpluses in oil. Its March 8, 1975 issue ("The North Sea Bubble") carries the argument further, suggesting that its analysis a year earlier erred only in predicting that it would take as long as five years for surpluses to apear. Yet virtually all long-term projections which assume the same (or even diminished) growth rates for energy consumption which characterized the last quarter of a century insist that we shall exhaust, for all practical purposes, petroleum as an energy source in 50 to 100 years. How do we achieve credibility for the long-term nature of interdependence issues in the face of short-term variations which suggest that the problem does not even exist?

Most interdependence issues are not only future-oriented but complex. The usual tendency in public examination of any critical problem is to look for single causes and to give greater prominence to those causes which attribute the problem to someone other than ourselves. During much of the public discussion in the U.S. on the world food crisis during the latter months of 1974, plenty of accusing fingers pointed at the propensity of poor countries to breed like rabbits or at the rapacious OPEC countries for raising the price of oil and pushing the cost of fertilizer out

of sight. Few were directed toward U.S. acreage set-aside policies which certainly contributed to the crisis by restricting food grain production but also served an important domestic political purpose by raising the prices received by American farmers.

In the past, those who suggested that America is part of a global village or that all mankind are riders on Spaceship Earth were dismissed as woolly-headed visionaries with little or nothing to contribute to the hard realities of wielding political and economic power to further the national interest. Few political realists would have taken seriously Secretary of State Kissinger's recent statement that "... the national interest can no longer be defined or attained in isolation from the global interest."[4]

Many today would view such a statement as more of a rhetorical flight of fancy than a meaningful comment on the political and economic realities of the world. Important elements in the ideological spectrum of political outlook in our society would view an observation of this sort with outright suspicion. Indeed, such talk is likely to generate a "hard-line" reaction against the proponents of some sort of "planetary bargain" to reflect the realities of global interdependence, leading to strident assertions of national self-interest regardless of its consequences for our fellow riders of Spaceship Earth and mindless of the consequences to ourselves.[5]

We have only just begun the "great national debate" about the changing character of America's relationship with the rest of the world for which Mr. Kissinger and others have called. This debate has a vital role to play in helping to shape consensus positions on major interdependence issues such as food, energy, population, the environment, and nuclear deterrence. The debate is important not because it will eliminate dissenting views at the ideological margins in our society but rather that it will hopefully broaden the base of public understanding essential to sustaining new initiatives in public policy necessary for coping more effectively with issues of global interdependence.

All of this has important implications for what American education can do to help us cope with interdependence. One lesson of the 1960's is that formal education is not a very effective cutting instrument at the leading edge of social change. Schools were seen by some to be the primary instrument by which the elusive goal of racial equity would at last be realized. It is now abundantly clear that schools have had far less impact on changing patterns of racial behavior and attitudes than expected, partly because education tends to be one of the most conservative of the basic social institutions in any society, following rather than leading, and partly because formal institutions of education constitute only one medium through which students learn about themselves and their social environment.

While it will be difficult to expect education to do much about changing attitudes and behavior related to global interdependence in advance of a broadened consensus, it does not mean that nothing can be done. Among other things, the educational community should be an active participant in the "great national debate" by providing a forum for presentation of different views and by enlarging our knowledge base on interdependence issues. My plea rather is for recognizing the limitations of education as an instrument for coping with interdependence in the absence of a better ideological fix on the meaning of global interdependence for American society.[6]

III The World View of American Popular Culture

There is, of course, no single "world view" of American society. There are many "world views." They are, furthermore, constantly changing and rearranging themselves, much in the manner of a kaleidoscope.[7] Yet we shall have to stake out some mooring points if we are going to come to any meaningful conclusions about what kind of role education can play in seeking to "harmonize" these views with the changing realities of our relations with the rest of the world.

In a thoughtful commentary on "The Hungry New World and the American Ethic," Charles Maynes suggests that most Americans view the international order in much the same way as their own social order. They are inclined to accept the basic rules of the game as being fair. From that it follows that individuals in our society who make it deserve their good fortune while, equally so, those who do not make it deserve their lot in life.

If we think this way about individuals in our own society, why not nations in the world? If the international order is fair, why then should others protest if the U.S., with only six per cent of the world's population; "makes it" by becoming indescribably more affluent than the rest? Did we not, after all, earn our affluence which others might have also had if they had been equally hard working and inventive?

An analogy with the civil rights movement may be instructive. The movement foundered, in Maynes' view, precisely when it came into conflict with this American vision of the rules of the game and their implications for the economic and social condition of individuals. As long as the demands of the movement were for rights enjoyed by whites but not by blacks—access to the ballot box and public facilities, and equal treatment by our judicial system—progress was made.

But when the civil rights movement began to demand for blacks special help to compensate for past disadvantages in the form of job quotas, special access to colleges and universities, or government programs for social uplift focused primarily on the blacks, the broad base of public support began to erode. No one had provided such special advantages for other ethnic groups in the American society in the past who had to make it the hard way, living by the same rules as everyone else.*

Similar attitudes are transferred to the international arena. Nations which are poor are that way because they did not try hard enough. Americans are less likely to be willing to look at the deeper explanations of foreign poverty. Thus, when many Americans think of India, they are likely to recall the transportation network left by the British and assume the Indians entered the world of independent nations with something of a head start. They ignore the fact that when the British first appeared on the scene in India, that country had one of the most advanced textile industries in the world, with extensive export markets, but that the British, understandably anxious to protect their own textile industry, throttled Indian competition and doomed Indian industrial development for generations.[8]

A critical part of our current dilemma is that we are now coming to realize, slowly and often painfully, that few countries elsewhere in the world share our view that the rules of the game have been fair. Because they are unconvinced of the fairness of these rules and want to improve their lot in life, they are trying to change them. Nowhere has this been more starkly revealed than in the actions of the OPEC countries. An important task on the educational agenda for global interdependence, therefore, is to help future generations of Americans see the world not only through their own eyes but also as others see it, a theme to which we shall return later.

But it would be misleading to overstate the hold which this American vision of the rest of the world has on our behavior and ability to respond to interdependence issues. The concept of "public regardingness" (the willingness to support policies in the larger "public" interest, even when these policies adversely affect immediate self-interest) is still little understood by students of American political behavior. Preliminary studies of the concept nonetheless suggest that there may be a greater capacity for empathic response

* For evidence from opinion polls that insistence on fairness is basic to American thinking, see Michael W. Moynihan, *Attitudes of Americans On Coping with Interdependence: Findings of Opinion Research Organizations*, Interdependence Series No. 1, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, May 1975.

to the problems of others than is often realized, particularly among "disadvantaged" racial and ethnic minorities.[9]

Indeed, the dominant views expressed by public opinion pollsters surveyed by Michael Moynihan for the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence suggest that the American people are more ready to cope (and in fact are coping) with interdependence and its attendant sacrifices than many of our political leaders believe.[10] Naturally, there are limits in time and extent of this willingness to cope, and no one knows just what these limits are. Much will depend on just how directly and substantially the consequences of interdependence interfere with established life styles and social aspirations. To turn down the thermostat and forego a Sunday afternoon of pleasure driving is one thing. To give up the dream of the little white house on its own quarter acre of land in suburbia and the permanent loss of personal mobility at will through enforced dependence on public transportation, as the Ford Foundation Energy Project suggests may be in store for us, is likely to be something else again.

We need to know much more than we do about the way in which the American popular culture shapes our view of the rest of the world, about understanding of interdependence issues specifically, and about the nature and extent of "public regardingness" as a factor in political behavior and whether or not deliberate steps can be taken to enhance that dimension of civic behavior. This will involve not only collection of fresh public opinion data but also closer analysis of the vast quantities of such data which already exist. And it will require the probing studies at a deeper level of social analysis like those by Harold Isaacs whose pioneering studies such as *Images of Asia* and the *New World of Negro Americans* point the way for work yet to be done on these vital questions.

IV The Historic Mission of American Public Education

An important part of the problem of adapting education to help Americans cope with global interdependence is the legacy which we have inherited from the past. Historically, one of the principal social purposes of the American common school was to fashion a national identity out of a population of diverse origins. Reflecting this historic view of the role of public education are a number of prescriptions still on the statute books of many of our states which require specified amounts of time in the curriculum for the study of American history and government and which stipulate that the language of instruction in public schools must be English.[11]

While no one would dispute the central importance of the study of our national history and government in the school curriculum, it is frequently carried to an excessive degree, often beyond legislative requirements. In New York State, one of the more progressive states in international education matters, virtually all secondary school students devote a minimum of 50 per cent of the total time allocated to social sciences and history concentrating on national and state history and government. Most students in fact spend more time (typically close to 70 per cent) on U.S. and New York State history and government and give 85 per cent of their attention to Western civilization and its contemporary manifestation on the North American continent, leaving a scant 15 per cent of the curriculum for the study of the rest of mankind. Yet this residual segment of humanity has experienced most of man's history, has contributed richly to our collective cultural inheritance, and accounts for over two-thirds of the world's population (four-fifths by the year 2000). This same mass of humankind frequently asserts positions on key interdependence issues which we need to try hardest to understand because they are so sharply divergent from our own.

In fact, the American common school served well the social purpose of fashioning a national identity. It has been a powerful force for cultural assimilation and the achievement of linguistic homogeneity, as Oscar Handlin, Henry Steele Commager, and other American social historians have amply documented.[12] Only within the last decade or two has the true nature of the melting pot phenomenon come to be recognized for what it is—not a blending of diverse cultures, enriched by the variety of the ingredients, but rather a leveling of cultural differences dominated by white, largely Anglo-Saxon, Protestant social values and norms.

This recognition has generated a reaction, first, from those groups largely unassimilated into the mainstream of society, notably Blacks and Spanish-surnamed Americans, who argued that they were being subjected to cultural genocide and who began to lay claims on the school and college curriculum for an opportunity to assert their own cultural identity. Demands for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano studies have in turn stimulated demands from the "white ethnic" groups for their own place in the curricular sun, and Polish, Italian, Jewish and other sundry studies of cultural origins of different elements in the American "melting pot" have surfaced.[13] While the ethnic studies movement has the important virtue of challenging the cultural homogenizing role of American public education, its impact on the curriculum experienced by most American students appears to be peripheral. Far from making American education more cosmopolitan, moreover, this assertion of cultural identity through the medium of the school and college curriculum, rooted as it is in cultural particularism, may well re-enforce the provincialism which pervades the American educational enterprise. Yet the evidence on human personality development points strongly toward positive self-identity as an essential prerequisite to a capacity for dealing constructively with problems of cultural and social difference which underlie key interdependence issues.

V Constitutional Incongruities and Institutional Rigidities

To compound our difficulties still further, we are confronted with an incongruent relationship between responsibility and control of education under our political system and the dominant nature of the principal interdependence issues with which we must now cope. By constitutional prescription and historical practice, education is the primary responsibility of the states (and through them, the localities). Whether or not local control of education is in fact largely a myth (some suggest it is the textbook publishers who exercise the decisive influence over the curriculum), we still worship at the altar of local control. Indeed, the trend in recent years, especially in large urban school systems, has been to develop new patterns of organization designed to make schools more responsive to the needs and concerns of the immediately surrounding communities.

Notwithstanding the growth of federal support and involvement in education in the past decade, the role of our national government is still marginal. New York State, as one illustration, spends approximately $4 billion annually on elementary, secondary, and higher education; federal funds for education in New York State come to only $420 million.

At the same time, even though one of the characteristics of global interdependence is to blur the traditional distinction between "domestic" and "foreign," important elements in key interdependence issues such as energy, food, population, environment, and nuclear deterrence are linked to our external relations. And constitutional prescription, as well as historical experience and practical necessity, give our national government responsibility for the conduct of these relations.[14]

Given its inherent social conservatism and institutional rigidities, the educational system is not easily changed, at least in any substantial way over a short period of time. It is by no means clear that even with large-scale infusions of money, fundamental changes which would place the educational system at odds with the larger social and political environment can be achieved. While educational change is not easily measured, there was probably more widespread change in formal education in the 1960's than its critics would like to admit but not as much as its apologists would claim. Federal funds were expended for the purpose of changing the system, but these funds were quite small in relation to the total societal investment in education and were made available for only relatively brief periods of time. In short, the lessons of the 1960's remain unclear.

What is clear is that the loss of public confidence in education as an instrument of social amelioration is unlikely to lead to large allocations of funds by the states or the federal government to change our schools and colleges in order to make them better instruments for coping with interdependence. The states, even though they provide the bulk of the expenditures for public education, are even less likely to take the initiative because they see the principal interdependence issues linked to and heavily influenced by our external relations, a responsibility of the national government under our federal political system. State political leadership will also argue that, whatever the financial problems of the federal government, state and local governments are in a far worse position and that the federal government controls the bulk of the taxing power.

Student enrollments are already leveling off, and beginning to decrease, in some cases sharply, at the lower levels of the educational system, leaving those responsible for the administration of the system with the unenviable task of managing decline. The financial consequences of these demographic facts of life, coupled with the growing militancy of school and college teachers' unions and professional associations in a determined effort to protect their jobs, are all too likely to harden resistance to change which is essential if education is to abandon its historic parochialism and play a positive role in helping American society cope with interdependence.

VI The Current Outlook for Coping with Interdependence

Notwithstanding these inhibiting historical and environmental circumstances, considerable resources and skills and a disposition to take initiatives to respond to the challenges of interdependence exist within the American educational community. Indeed, a number of initiatives are now being taken, although they remain peripheral to the educational mainstream and totally inadequate for the kind of transformation implicitly required by such estimates of man's future prospects as those offered by Robert Heilbroner and the Club of Rome.

Post-Secondary Education

American universities are repositories of substantial intellectual skills which can make an important contribution to developing a more substantial knowledge base on key interdependence issues. This knowledge base will in turn help (but certainly not assure) achievement of a broad political consensus on what these issues require our society to do in order to cope as effectively as possible with interdependence. And such consensus is a prerequisite to moving the sorts of initiatives mentioned below from the wings to the center of the American educational stage.

It is difficult to generalize about the current adequacy, qualitatively and quantitatively, of university-based resources related to interdependence issues, let alone to discern trends which point with any reliability to where we will be five, ten or twenty years from now.[15] The series of government-academic task forces established last year through the initiative of several government agencies and the American Council on Education's International Education Project, although not focused on global interdependence as such, did attempt an assessment of current problems and future needs in language training, library development, international research collaboration, and other fields. And it is possible that making some special trend analyses of university-based research and training programs in such areas as food, energy, environment, conflict and peace studies, and population, based on the program listings maintained by the World Studies Data Bank, might yield some interesting results which would provide the basis for public policy initiatives or institutional steps to strengthen these resources.[16]

Another way of assessing trends in American academic competence related to interdependence issues would be to survey past and present research interests and publications of members of some of the leading professional organizations and learned societies concerned with these issues such as the International Studies Association and American Society for International Law. Both organizations, through their publications and meetings, already are helping to enlarge our knowledge base on problems related to interdependence.

In the meantime two observations seem in order. One is that many organized university efforts to deal with interdependence issues are being squeezed by the continuing process of impoverishment of the intellectual and cultural institutions of our affluent society. The other is, that universities still do not do a very effective job of relating these kinds of talents to the middle and longer-term policy needs of government, a concern expressed by Secretary of State Kissinger in his interview with James Reston of the *New York Times* last October which led to a meeting between the Secretary and a group of university presidents and professors in international studies last winter.[17]

The universities are the principal institutions which provide training in the professions, several of which are becoming increasingly "transnational" in character. Business management is perhaps the most striking example, and in recognition of growing internationalization of U.S. business, the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business has now introduced into its standards of accreditation a requirement that the curriculum for all business administration majors must include international business. The recently established ACE Task Force on International Business should shed light on future needs in this field.

The other professions are also responding to the operational realities of global interdependence. Law, medicine, education, agriculture, engineering—these and other professions are being practiced in a more and more "international" context. We have not had a survey of problems and opportunities related to international aspects of training in the professions since the Education and World Affairs survey of the mid-1960's.[18] Perhaps a fresh assessment would be useful, but if it is undertaken, it should be linked more directly and explicitly to the means and will to implement some of its basic recommendations lest it become, like so many such undertakings, a mere exercise in exhortation.

Post-secondary institutions, in addition to research on interdependence issues and profes-

sional training, also provide general or liberal education to millions of students each year. Because of the intellectual maturity of the students and the level of academic expertise of the faculty to deal with complex interdependence problems and their social and ethical consequences for mankind, these institutions have enormous potential in working toward a new and expanded civic literacy on the realities of global interdependence. The significance of their potential is enhanced by the fact that through their portals pass virtually all of American society's future leaders.

The melancholy fact is that almost none of this potential is yet realized. Instead, American colleges and universities, confronted with long-term prospects of declining fortunes, appear to have sunk into a morass of social purposelessness, seeking to cater to more and more narrowly defined career goals of their students who seem equally afflicted with a lack of concern with larger social issues. The malaise and its implications for problems of global interdependence has been well described by Ernest Boyer, Chancellor of the State University of New York, in these words:

> "The truth is that with all our success in higher education, we are left with a nagging paradox. On one hand we have opened widely college doors. We have expanded the curriculum. Educational programs have grown flexible, geared to student needs. . . . On the other hand, the fundamental purposes underlying all this effort are less clearly understood, and increasingly the question being raised is, 'Education for what?' . . . . These realities [of global interdependence] suggest that education must give renewed attention to the question of moral development. We must reaffirm the very old notion that the whole human being is more important than each of its parts. What I propose is a 21st-century version of a liberal arts education, which draws on the wisdom of the past, organizes our present knowledge of the world, and then focuses sharply on alternatives for the future.
>
> "And let me suggest that we make consideration of the future a strong component of every college education. This is a polite way of saying that I would consider a thorough value-laden preparation for the next century an obligation for all students in this country. . . ."[19]

The task of endowing our colleges and universities once more with a sense of social purpose is closely related to the need for revival of liberal learning, not as it was before but rather in revitalized form focused on the central issue on the human agenda, namely the terms and conditions of our survival. The new liberal learning must also strive for a fresh synthesis with "career education," whether it be technical training in a community college or preparation for the learned professions of law and medicine in a university setting.[20]

This task will not be easily accomplished, given the predicament in which our colleges and universities find themselves. Zero or negative growth means less and less faculty mobility and an increasing proportion of tenured faculty so that bringing about change of necessity will involve providing opportunities for intellectual and professional development for existing faculty rather than adding new ones. This has led to a resurgence of foundation interest in faculty development, almost none of which seems to be related to the central question of human survival in an interdependent world.

Notwithstanding this bleak picture, some initiatives are occurring, although much, much more needs to be done to put this concern into the mainstream of American higher education. Several of the national associations such as the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, and American Association of State Colleges and Universities are trying to encourage their member institutions to become more actively concerned with interdependence issues through workshops, seminars, and overseas programs for faculty and students.[21]

A number of regional and national consortia of colleges and universities have been engaged in faculty and curriculum development efforts along similar lines; the Great Lakes Colleges Association, Kansas City Regional Council for Higher Education, Association of Colleges and Universities for International-Intercultural Studies, and Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs are good examples, although others might also be mentioned.

The last-named body, a cooperative national organization of regional higher education associations and state university systems to which in turn is linked a network of some 500 colleges and

universities, has recently teamed up with another cooperative effort engaged in faculty and curriculum development at the undergraduate level, the Consortium for International Studies Education, to initiate a joint dissemination program, *Learning Resources in International Studies,* which makes available instructional materials on several major interdependence issues to college students and faculty. The Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs for several years has been undertaking, initially with Population Council support, a program to strengthen the systematic study of population, a key interdependence issue, in the undergraduate curriculum.[22] The Council is also joining forces with several national education organizations and the Johnson Foundation to prepare a handbook on strategies for change in international education to help individual institutions come to grips with the implications of global interdependence.

In addition, some individual colleges and universities are mounting new programs to strengthen education related to global interdependence at both the undergraduate and graduate level, several with support from th U.S. Office of Education's Division of International Education and the National Education for the Humanities. But for the most part, these initiatives, whether at the institutional, regional, or national level, suffer from severe financial undernourishment and operate on the shakiest of foundations and none is sufficiently well supported to be able to move education for global interdependence into the mainstream.

Elementary and Secondary Education

The picture at the elementary and secondary level is not much different, although the needs are correspondingly greater because of the vast size of pre-collegiate educational enterprise. Scattered initiatives are being exercised, all at the periphery and virtually all with extremely limited resources in relation to the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. Useful experience in how to go about this task is, nonetheless, being accumulated, and some helpful curriculum materials and teacher training formats on problems of global interdependence are being developed.

A considerable number of private educational organizations, ranging from the Institute for World Order and the Overseas Development Council to the Center for War/Peace Studies (recently renamed the Center for Global Perspectives in Education) and the Population Reference Bureau, are developing materials and providing services to public education agencies, local school systems, and teacher training institutions on interdependence issues.[23] Professional organizations in the field of education are also concerned with these issues and attempt to stimulate interest within their respective memberships; one current example is reflected in the theme for the National Education Association's observation of the American Bicentennial, "Education for Global Community."

Universities with federally supported programs in international studies are being enjoined by their patron, the Office of Education, to engage in more energetic efforts at educational "outreach" into schools and the community at large. Other regional efforts are now underway, including the just initiated Mid-America Center for Global Perspectives in Education in Indiana and the longer-established Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver. Several state education agencies have on-going programs in international education related to interdependence issues, North Carolina and New York being among those which have been active in this field for several years.

Studies and surveys on the state of the art in global education, policy declarations, and curriculum development efforts are all providing grist for the mill. While nothing as extensive as the mid-1960's survey of international education undertaken by the Foreign Policy Association with support from the Office of Education has been attempted recently, the "Schooling in America" Project of the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (IDEA), an affiliate of the Kettering Foundation, does include a special component on international education.[24] Another current illustration is the report being prepared by the staff of the American Council on Education's International Education Project on the series of government-academic task forces on international education, which will include findings and recommendations on the diffusion of education for global interdependence in schools, colleges, and the community at large.

Policy declarations on educational issues all too often are like whistling in the wind, but they do provide an appeal to higher authority for those who are trying to bring change in our schools and who need legitimacy for their efforts to counter their critics and skeptics. One recent example is the National Commission on Reform of Secondary Education, which includes among its various recommendations a plea for a fresh commitment to "global education":

> "The education of the nation's adolescents must be superior to that of their parents. Part of this superiority must be an enhanced sense of the globe as the human environment, and instruction to this end must reflect not only the ancient characteristics of the world, but emerging knowledge of biological and social unity. All secondary school students should receive a basic global education.
>
> "New instructional material for global education must be prepared if this recommendation is to be effective. State departments of education should require teacher training institutions to design programs which prepare teachers to present such programs."[25]

At the state level, the New York State Board of Regents five years ago issued a policy statement in international education and will shortly be deliberating a new position paper on education for global interdependence.[26] Utah is another example of a state which has recently made a formal policy statement on this subject.

The 1960's was the decade of handsomely funded curriculum projects in American education, many of which were characterized by critics of the educational establishment as having marginal impact on what students learn in school. (Or in some cases, deleterious consequences—for example, the loss of computational skills in arithmetic, attributed by some to the theoretical orientation of the New Math.) Efforts in the 1970's tend to be more modest in scope and to give greater emphasis to linking the development of new materials to steps designed to change the behavior of teachers in the classroom, preferably in ways that can be measured in terms of what students learn. The Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, for example, is embarking on a project organized along these lines on the study of global issues in the intermediate grades. Another illustration, especially significant because it is tackling the problem in the crucial formative years of a child's early education, is the Mankind Curriculum Project being undertaken by John Goodlad, Dean of the UCLA School of Education, and a group of associates in Southern California in a network of elementary schools there. This project, which is also linked to parallel efforts in half a dozen countries throughout the world, seeks to infuse the curriculum with a "mankind perspective."[27]

These kinds of initiatives and interests remain widely scattered, leading in recent years to efforts at coalescence. The Center for War/Peace Studies, for example, has encouraged the formation of an informal association of key individuals concerned with global education which meets once or twice a year to exchange ideas and coordinate activities, the Group on Global Perspectives in Education. The Inter-organizational Commission on International Education provides a forum for communication among some 25 or 30 professional associations, public agencies, and private organizations through meetings twice a year and sharing of information on conferences and other activities. And the Council of Chief State School Officers has recently formed a Committee on International Education to facilitate cooperation among state education agencies.

All these activities, and many others which might have been mentioned, are important in providing a base of interest and experience from which to launch future efforts, but they remain at the margins of the American educational enterprise.

The Mass Media and Non-Traditional Learning

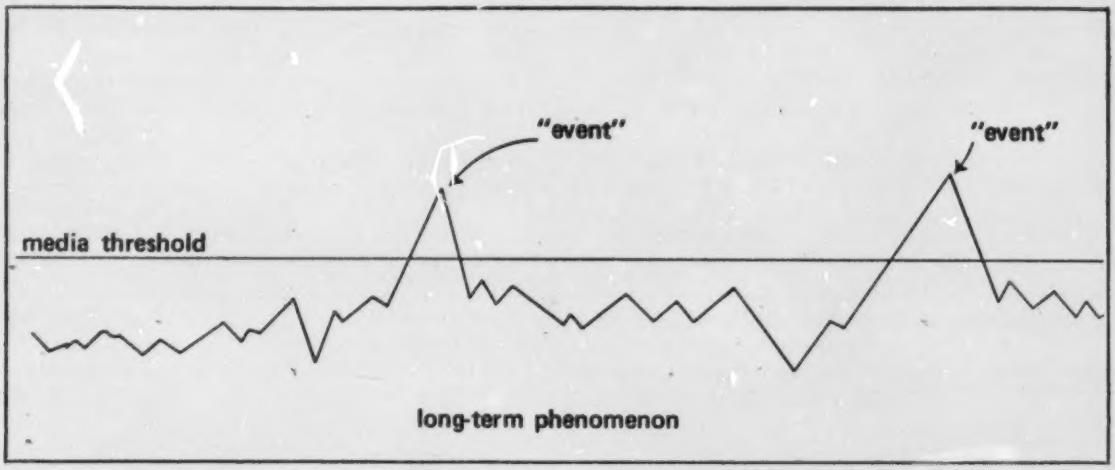
If the challenges of interdependence which lie ahead are as cataclysmic as Heilbroner and other analysts of the future suggest, the task before us in coping with these challenges will require a fundamental transformation of the world view of Americans and of the attitudes and behavior based on that world view. And a task of that magnitude cannot possibly be accomplished by formal education alone. Even if we decide to scale down the magnitude of our task by refusing to accept such apocalyptic views of the future, we cannot overlook the mass media and other types of non-formal education, simply because they already play such an important role in shaping American understanding of other peoples and the problems of interdependence.[28]

In a thoughtful comment on the limits of formal schooling in determining the global perspectives of Americans, Robert Hanvey observes that:

> "Schools are hard put to match the drama and appeal of the mass media or the grip on behavior and attitude exerted by the peer group. Furthermore, whatever is learned while young is continuously reshaped by adult role experience. The world view of an American farmer will no doubt reflect his school-

ing to some extent but it is likely to be most importantly influenced by exigencies associated with his role as a farmer and by attitudes currently held by his most important reference group—other farmers."[29]

Hanvey goes on to note that the mass media are event-centered, or as he puts it, "a volcano is of interest to them only when it erupts." The consequence of this circumstance is that public perceptions of important phenomena, to the degree that they are decisively shaped by the mass media, are limited in time and often distorted in character because they tend to focus on those aspects which are novel enough to rise above the media's "threshold of excitability." Graphically, Hanvey portrays the situation in this manner:



The event-centered character of the mass media poses particular difficulties in relation to enlarging public understanding of the key interdependence issues which are long term in character and appear to require modifications in behavior and attitude now if adverse effects are going to be avoided far in the future. It is no doubt also true, as Hanvey suggests, that these issues, especially their long-term characteristics, are not intrinsically interesting to broad publics. And broad public interest is, after all, what keeps television, newspapers, and other mass media alive.

At a more fundamental cultural level, the mass media have other qualities which are certain to affect the way in which American society copes with the realities of global interdependence. In Hanvey's words, the media are "culture-bound and culture-generating."

> "That is, they reflect the culture and reinforce it but are also capable of turning it in new directions. The culture says, 'Consume!' and the media transmit that message—ingeniously, seductively, repetitively, persuasively. . . . Be sure that the new car can reach 60 in ten seconds, even with the air conditioner on. Buy the lawn fertilizer with the weed killer built in. Then the times change and the messages change. Consume, yes, but also conserve. And watch for environmental effects. And the media, always there on the growing edge of cultural transformation, pass the new messages along with the same devotion to technical quality and the same servility to whatever is currently correct to believe in that particular society. The messages may be socially useful—or not. But the influence is there, the long reach into every home and hotel room and bar, the powerful reinforcing of enduring cultural ideas, themes, stereotypes coupled with the equally powerful capacity to mobilize altogether new patterns of belief and opinion almost overnight."[30]

The culture-bound, event-centered character of the mass media is often the subject of adverse comment from the Third World, a critical arena for playing out a number of major interdependence issues over the next several decades. In a back-handed compliment to the public broad-

casting medium for a program on the world food situation which included comments and viewpoints of several foreign experts, Amita Malik, the film and television critic for the *Times of India* observed recently that this program was "most unusual because American radio and TV is completely cloistered in whatever is discussed, being mostly an American view of other countries."[31]

A Sri Lankan contributing editor to *Newsweek*, Varindra Tarzie Vittachi, points out that "a recurrent source of irritation to people in the Third World . . . is the itinerant foreign correspondent who blows in for a few days and proceeds to write with expert bravura about unfamiliar people and their lives."[32] The solution, according to Vittachi, is "well-staffed bureaus or skilled correspondents in major centers for periods up to four years so that they can get to know the region. . . ."[32] But even this may not be enough, judging from the recent and celebrated brouhaha between the *New York Times* correspondent and the Ford Foundation representative in India, who accused the former of giving a distorted and unduly negative picture of that country.

The problem of achieving coverage of important regions of the world by properly qualified American journalists is, furthermore, a substantial one not easily or soon overcome. By most standards, ability to communicate in the language of the country being covered would seem to be a minimal qualification. How well would a Japanese journalist do at his job if he were assigned to Washington and knew no English? Yet, of the 80-odd American journalists now stationed in Japan, fewer than 10 have even minimal conversational ability in Japanese, and only half that number are truly at home in the language, several being products of a joint School of Journalism-School of International Affairs Program in East Asian Studies at Colmbia.

It is, of course, easy to make the mass media a whipping boy of international misunderstanding. News, after all, is more often than not human tragedy in one form or another, and the Third World is full of such tragedy. A newspaper which printed nothing but long, dry, detailed background articles on the long-term character of interdependence issues would probably soon lose its readers. Some of the media of mass communication, furthermore, do produce excellent background articles or television documentaries on critical world problems. The series of background pieces on the world food problem which appeared in the *New York Times* and several documentaries by both network and public broadcast television on the food and energy crises during the last year come to mind as illustrations of the role which the mass media can play in broadening the base of public understanding of complex interdependence issues.

Concern for the quality of coverage of international affairs by the mass media is not new, nor are attempts to improve that quality. Examples of past efforts include the series of seminars run by the American Press Institute in the 1950's for news editors on foreign areas and topics and the mid-career opportunities for professional and intellectual development for working journalists, such as the Nieman Fellowship Program at Harvard or the Alicia Patterson Foundation awards administered by the Institute of Current World Affairs, which from time to time include individuals with international concerns. It may be a useful exercise to make a fresh assessment of these efforts and parallel ones in other professional fields which seek to build an overseas, Third World internship/study component into pre-service training (e.g., the University of California at Berkeley Professional Schools Program in India and the Masters in International Public Administration Program of the Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, also in India) in an attempt to determine their impact. This would provide the basis for devising an educational strategy for the mass media related to problems of global interdependence appropriate to the 1970's and 1980's.

One of the more interesting social phenomena of the mid-1970's has been the "rediscovery" of adult education. Many are now worshipping at the altar of lifelong learning, and colleges and universities, confronted with the grim demographic fact of a rapidly declining population of young adults during the balance of this century, are now looking to lifelong learners as the means of their survival. An important dimension to this new movement is a concern with defining "civic literacy" as one of the operational goals of adult learning.[33] And, as we suggest elsewhere in this paper, a new and expanded civic literacy must include basic understanding of the complexities of global interdependence and the ways in which they affect our daily lives now and are likely to do so in the future.

Again, concern with this question is not new. An important element in the adult liberal education movement of the 1950's was citizen education in world affairs as reflected in the work of such organizations as the American Foundation

for Political (later Continuing) Education. And there continues to this day an active effort at enlarging adult understanding of international problems through the work of national organizations like the Foreign Policy Association, the United Nations Association of the USA, League of Women Voters, and American Association of University Women, and local and regional organizations such as the community-based world affairs councils and university-based continuing education programs. As in the case of the mass media, a critical assessment of past and current efforts of this character would be a useful prelude to devising a new strategy for adult education to achieve more widespread civic literacy on the challenges of global interdependence.

In one sense, the task may be easier in the 1970's and 1980's than in the 1950's and 1960's. Interdependence has increasingly blurred the distinction between foreign and domestic concerns, making many aspects of critical global problems more immediate and capable of being translated into a local community frame of reference. The "Columbus-in-the-World/the-World-in-Columbus" project being carried on at Ohio State University with financial support from the Kettering Foundation is beginning to develop some techniques for monitoring and stimulating awareness of community involvement in the rest of the world, which may provide the basis of more widespread community-oriented efforts to enlarge understanding of major interdependence issues.[34]

Other community-based and professional organizations surely have an important role to play. The churches and other religious bodies are one obvious example, the more so because of their concern for the moral quality of life which is affected by how our society responds to problems of global interdependence. Trade unions have a great potential role (in some cases now being actively pursued) in enlarging understanding by their members of complex issues in public affairs. Multinational corporations certainly have as much of a stake in increasing public awareness of interdependence as they do in helping to solve the problems of American cities and racial minorities by loaning their officers to work for organizations like the Urban League; why not a parallel effort to strengthen public understanding of global interdependence?

Finally, the potentialities of the more traditional community institutions of non-formal learning should not be overlooked simply because they have been around for a long time and we tend to take them for granted. Public libraries and museums can become important instrumentalities for furthering public understanding of the problems of interdependence; many already are doing significant work in this direction. Indeed, the arts, both visual and performing, offer promising possibilities because of their relative "accessibility" across cultural boundaries in grappling with the critical affective domain of empathic concern for those of different circumstance and inheritance who also inhabit our fragile biosphere and who are competing with us for use of the same resources necessary to sustain human life.

VII A Transnational Perspective of Global Interdependence

A commonly accepted understanding of "rules of the game," we suggested earlier, is a vital part of the American vision of social fairness as it applies to the fortunes of individuals in our own society or of nations in the world. But there is an important distinction between the rules of the game for individuals in America and for nations in the world. Most Americans, although certainly not all, probably would accept a common body of definition of the rules of the game as they relate to the way in which our social and political institutions operate. On the other hand, there are widely differing views about the degree of acceptability of the existing rules of the game internationally.

There is a parallel, however, between the domestic and international scenes. Among those most likely to question the basic legitimacy of the existing social order in the United States are racial and cultural minorities who feel that the cards are stacked against them, no matter how hard they try to improve their lot in life. It should not surprise us that those who challenge most sharply the legitimacy of the existing international order are those whose existence is most disadvantaged. The critical difference is that the disadvantaged are a relatively small minority of the total population in the United States but a vast majority of the world's population.

This basic fact of life about the world in which we live gives added significance to efforts to understand how others see critical global problems as a vital part of any American attempt to grapple with interdependence. Seeing these problems only through our own eyes is no longer sufficient, if indeed it ever was. But we are hampered in this process of moving the American educational enterprise toward a more catholic posture on world problems because of our parochial educational past.

It is easy to console ourselves by pointing out that provincialism is in greater or lesser measure a dominant quality in the educational systems of other societies and that, certainly in recent decades, American schools, colleges, and universities within the world educational community have led the way in developing programs to further international understanding and knowledge of other societies and peoples and cultures. But whatever we have done in the past is not nearly enough for the future, at least for two reasons, one quantitative and the other qualitative.

With six per cent of the world's population, we consume an estimated 40 per cent of the world's non-renewable natural resources. Our per capita energy consumption is three times that of some other industrialized countries and many dozens of times greater than that of those nations at the bottom of the heap in today's lopsided world. The United States consumes 50 per cent of the petroleum used by the 13 industrialized countries which have formed the International Energy Agency, with the remaining 50 per cent being used by the other 12 member nations. In recent years, the *annual increase* in our GNP has been greater than the total gross national product of India, a country with two and a half times the population of the U.S. In short, whatever we, far more than any other nation, do about the key interdependence issues is likely to affect the quality of life for the rest of the inhabitants of the world, imposing on us a correspondingly greater responsibility for the future of mankind.

The qualitative reason is more difficult to describe but is, I am convinced, no less real. Much of what we have done to further international educational and cultural activities has been essentially on our own terms. That we should be able to dictate these terms is in considerable measure a product of our affluence. However impoverished American educational institutions may feel they are today, they—and their students and faculty—are indescribably better off than their counterparts in most of the rest of the world. Our affluence has generated an arrogance of sorts, an easy assumption that we, who are more experienced in these matters, know best. We have yet to demonstrate, with some occasional and happy exceptions, a sense of humility, a genuine willingness to learn from others, a true spirit of cooperation.

Take the very notion of global interdependence. To some Americans, inspired by the vision of achieving greater economic and social justice in a lopsided world, interdependence implies a willingness to share the world's resources more responsibly in order to reduce at least the grossest forms of inequity among nations. But, Henry Nau points out, "the ability to bargain and exploit the opportunities of interdependence . . . is a function of resources and power, and the latter remain asymmetrically distributed in today's world."[35] Rajni Kothari, an Indian political scientist, makes the point even more directly that "global interdependence" may simply be the latest Trojan horse of Western imperialism.

21

> "The worst result of the colonial period was the destruction of self-regard and sense of dignity of those living in the colonized societies. . . . The paramount need of the time is to restore this self-regard, this dignity. This is why people like me are more interested in what we can do for ourselves than what you can do for us. Both the talk of raising aid or undertaking large transfers, or even taxing yourselves for us, and the talk of universality, of a world community, of a global perspective, seem to me not only distractive from the main task but perhaps a positive dampener of it. In fact I suspect that all such talk is a subtle means of continuation of the dominance of the dominant world."[36]

As long as the principal actors in the international order are nation states, no country is going to abandon the goal of maximizing national self-reliance and embark on a course of action deliberately designed to increase its dependence on other countries, unless it has no choice or there are strong compensating consequences (such as other nations becoming dependent on it). Indeed, mutual dependence may be a more accurate label than interdependence with which to characterize relations between nation states, even if in some ultimate, futuristic sense all nations share in a global interdependence (a condition which appears to be with us now only in the case of nuclear weapons of such massive destructiveness that their use on any scale would endanger large segments of mankind). This leads Kothari to argue that the goal for underdeveloped countries should be to acquire real autonomy, not to be submerged in a sea of global interdependence in which their needs would very likely be subordinated to those of the more powerful, industrialized countries:

> "... the issue is *not* one of evolving a single world community that will ensure peace but rather a community of self-respecting and independent states who learn to live together by virtue of their autonomy and equality and who are able to evolve rational modes of resolving differences and disputes."[37]

In short, where you stand on global interdependence depends on where you sit. And the implication for the American educational community in its efforts to help the United States cope with interdependence is that finding out where others sit and learning why they sit where they do should become a central item on the agenda of American education.

Some of the complexities of doing so are reflected in a 1974 discussion paper generated within the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, "Building the Foundations for Cooperation in an Interdependent World." The paper urges, among other things, that the American academic community give greater attention to the process of intercultural communication itself. This is an area of relatively recent and still marginal concern in academia which would constitute an important addition to the knowledge base on global interdependence as this concern developed.

Notwithstanding the complexities of strengthening transnational perspecitves on interdependence issues, some beginnings have been made. Among the more noteworthy is the World Order Models Project of the Institute of World Order. The Project is noteworthy because it is concerned directly with the world order questions which underlie the problems of interdependence and because it has sought to follow the kind of "new" style in transnational intellectual cooperation which, we suggested previously, has manifested itself rarely thus far. The Project is not, in fact, a single enterprise but rather a series of autonomous teams of scholars and intellectuals in different regions throughout the world, each addressing itself to the same basic set of issues but necessarily coming up with different answers about the kind of preferred world order they would like to see in the last decade of this century. Now that the basic studies by the different teams and scholars participating in World Order Models are beginning to come off the press, the Project has begun addressing itself to taking the steps necessary to achieve the preferred future world orders set forth in the basic studies. A transnational journal, *Alternatives,* is being launched, an annual State of the Globe message will be issued, a continuing research program to measure world order indicators has been started, and plans are being developed for a series of transnational seminars, expanded formal educational programming, and a mass public education movement on a global basis.[38]

Other initiatives to strengthen transnational perspectives on interdependence in which there is significant American participation are spotty, indicating how far we have still to go. After two

decades of refusing to participate in the international network of institutions concerned with furthering education for world understanding and social justice organized by UNESCO, the United States finally in 1970 began to participate in the Associated Schools Project with a small group of pilot schools, and in 1974, with an expanded network of some 30 schools and in half a dozen states across the country. Another initiative already mentioned is the Mankind Curriculum Project, which, through parallel efforts in all the major regions of the world, is developing a curriculum built around the unifying concept of mankind.

The International Baccalaureate, a common secondary school syllabus leading to an internationally recognized university entrance qualification (roughly the equivalent of sophomore standing in American colleges), is a good illustration of the kind of transnational structure which needs to be built in various educational fields. While the impetus for the IB came first from Western Europe, the idea is fast catching on in North America (as well as elsewhere) in junior colleges and academically strong secondary schools. A North American officer for the IB, established recently at the Rockland Community College in Suffern, New York, is working actively to further interest and participation.

One other venture may be worthy of mention in this context because it is organized around the same basic principle as the other initiatives already mentioned, namely, that to understand the world in which we live, we must see it not only through our own eyes but also as it is seen by others. This is the curriculum development and teacher service center maintained by the New York State Education Department in India with support from the Office of Education's Division of International Education, the Educational Resources Center. ERC involves teachers, scholars, and curriculum specialists from India and the United States in developing study materials for American students on Indian society and culture and the Indian experience in relation to the common problems of mankind.

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VIII The Task Ahead: A Six Point Plan of Action

The task of bringing about the kind of transformation which will make education a better instrument for coping with interdependence is formidable. We need to shed an inheritance of parochialism which we have been accumulating for the past two hundred years. We must find the critical leverage points in a highly decentralized educational system within a constitutional framework which places primary responsibility for education on governmental structures insulated from the more urgent imperatives of global interdependence. And we must simultaneously reach out to the rest of the world to strengthen transnational perspectives on key interdependence issues. Here is a six-point plan of action to get us started on this task, a plan which does not pretend to be comprehensive or complete but rather to suggest some points of entry in order that the process of transformation can begin.

1 Development of a comprehensive, long-range strategy to achieve a new and expanded civic literacy on the realities of global interdependence through curriculum revision, teacher training, and community education.

This is not the place to spell out such a strategy, although some elements in it can be suggested. One surely will be, given the future-oriented character of most interdependence issues, to move "future studies" out of the think tanks and into the classrooms in our schools and colleges. Students should begin to develop skills in analyzing alternative scenarios of the future; they should also realize that studies of the future are not predictions but rather descriptions of possible alternatives.

Another key element will be assessment—i.e., developing measurable criteria to determine whether or not we are making any progress. The National Assessment of Educational Progress of the Education Commission of the States, the Educational Testing Service (which itself is now engaged in an Office of Education-funded study of what students know about the rest of the world), and other testing and evaluation agencies have a rich body of experience and technical skill which can be applied to this task.

Before we can measure anything, we have to define with some precision what it is we are trying to measure. This requires spelling out what we mean by civic literacy on the realities of global interdependence and achieving consensus for the definitions which emerge from this process, something which is likely to be arduous.

In this as in the other parts of the proposed plan of action, we should, even if it means stating the obvious, look critically at past efforts along similar lines, several of which have been mentioned in this paper. The initiatives cited in the paper, and others directed toward the same goal of helping our educational system to relate more effectively to the challenges of interdependence, should be subjected to similar scrutiny to determine which show greatest promise and should therefore be expanded on a scale commensurate with the problem before us. In this process, some studies and surveys will be inevitable; one hopes that they will not become substitutes for meaningful action.

A word seems in order about the infrastructure for furthering our educational capacity for dealing with interdependence. The organizational structures and the vehicles of communications which make up this structure are often taken for granted simply because they exist. In these precarious times, when all educational endeavors are pressed to the wall financially, no such easy assumption is warranted. Much of the existing infrastructure related to education on problems of interdependence is so fragile that it may well not survive without additional support. Certainly it must be strengthened if it is to play the role demanded by the educational transformation on which we must now embark.

2 Policy support by political, educational, and other leaders at the national and state levels to legitimize local initiatives in implementing the strategy of achieving civic literacy on global interdependence and to give priority status to such initiatives in allocating funds under existing programs for educational change and improvement.

Governors, legislative committees which deal with education, state boards of education, college and university boards of trustees, professional organizations of school and college administrators, the Congress, Cabinet office and the President of the United States all can help the cause of coping with interdependence if they will provide public support for efforts to cope within the educational community. Where the individual or body also has a direct educational policy-making function, additional support can be provided by adopting or issuing formal statements of policy to further education on interdependence issues. Leaders in the business community, labor leaders, and others who command a hearing because of their positions in society can play an important supporting role to these efforts within

government and the educational community. Also important as allies in this task are those actively working for change in their local communities in environment, race relations, and other areas of local concern.

But we need to move beyond rhetoric if we are going to get results. This is not the time to appeal for massive infusions of public money to change the educational system. Instead, let us give priority status to activities designed to foster the capacity of our educational system to cope with interdependence under *existing* programs for educational change and improvement. At the national level, these include Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (most of which is now administered by state education agencies), the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, the National Institute of Education, National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, and National Science Foundation. While a few of these agencies and programs are giving marginal attention to activities to further education and research on global problems, most have not even done that much. If we really mean business about enhancing the capacity of present and future generations of Americans to cope with interdependence, let us set a measurable standard for allocating funds for the purpose of changing our educational system in this respect—say, 10 per cent of all the funds available for educational improvement administered under these and other relevant government programs.[39] The private foundations, some of which moved away from a concern with these problems in the past decade, should re-examine their priorities in light of the great divide in human history through which we are now passing.[40]

3 Development of a stronger knowledge base on interdependence issues as a means of furthering political consensus.

Our universities and other research institutions possess many of the intellectual skills essential in working toward this goal, but they have yet, with some exceptions, to deploy them effectively so as to strengthen the knowledge base on which realistic public policies to cope with interdependence problems can be fashioned. A stronger knowledge base is also crucial to building the political consensus necessary to sustain policies designed to cope with interdependence.

External sources of support can accelerate the process of developing this knowledge base, the more so when universities are already so hard pressed financially. Indeed, any comprehensive strategy must give recognition to the importance of preserving existing elements of the knowledge base in universities which are endangered because of financial erosion. This certainly includes resources for the study of major world regions and languages which have been so painstakingly accumulated in the last quarter of a century.

We do not need massive new sources of support but rather the political will to continue existing support for international studies and to give priority in allocation of general funds for university research to work on interdependence issues, both in the public and the private sectors. As in the case above, why not set a goal of 10 per cent (or some other figure which may be preferred, although it must be large enough to have some impact)?

4 Further analysis of world views embedded in American popular culture and experimentation with ways of shaping these views to make them more compatible with the realities of global interdependence.

In a sense this process has already begun, with the analysis of public opinion survey data on interdependence issues for the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence. It should be extended in time and depth and move beyond public opinion surveys to other forms of data collecting and analysis such as the probing depth interviews used by Harold Isaacs in his work on this subject. The concept of "public regardingness" as a characteristic of civic behavior also needs further study. Based on these efforts, some experimental activities should be undertaken to see to what degree formal learning experiences can shape the world views of Americans so as to make those views more compatible with (or at least less resistant to) adjustments in behavior and attitudes necessary to cope more effectively with problems of global interdependence.

5 Strengthening of existing activities and development of new patterns of long-term cooperation with intellectual and educational communities throughout the world to enable us to understand interdependence issues not only through our own eyes but also as others see them.

We have a long way to go here, in spite of our apparent track record in international intellectual and educational cooperation. And the task will not be easy if American sources are to provide the bulk of the financing for such initiatives, because whoever pays the piper is likely to feel responsible for calling the tune.

We already have some structures for scholarly cooperation with other countries which might well be strengthened and reoriented toward a concern with interdependence issues. The inter-university organizations which provide assistance to American scholars working abroad such as the American Institute of Iranian Studies and the American Institute of Indian Studies are examples. Enterprises designed to strengthen general educational understanding of world problems, which emphasize cooperative effort with scholars and teachers from other countries, can be developed on a much broader scale than at present. One option would be to create a network of overseas teacher service and curriculum development centers in major regions and countries of the world to assist American educational institutions in acquiring a transnational perspective on problems of global interdependence.

International efforts to develop new structures for intellectual cooperation also deserve our support. The United Nations University is the most obvious example of a new initiative of this character which is trying to create a truly transnational framework for scholarly collaboration in confronting the most critical problems of mankind.

6 A major effort to assist the mass media in dealing with the realities of global interdependence —through overseas internships as an integral part of professional training in the field of mass communications, mid-career fellowships for correspondents at U.S. universities and overseas to deepen their knowledge of interdependence issues, and background seminars for editors in the electronic and print media on emerging trends in relation to these issues. Parallel efforts are needed with other institutions such as trade unions, farm organizations, business corporations, churches, civic and women's groups and public libraries.

The principal components of such an effort with the mass media are not new. All have been tried before and some are on-going today, albeit on a modest scale. What we are proposing is a resuscitation of some old approaches and expansion of existing ones. The obvious first step is to look at what is now going on and to assess critically what has happened in the past in an effort to learn from that experience in fashioning more effective initiatives for the future.

In carrying out a program of overseas study and/or internship experience as part of professional training for careers in the mass media, universities with strong professional schools in this field and active programs in international studies are the best bet. Columbia, Syracuse, Pennsylvania, and the University of Missouri at Columbia are good examples. Existing parallel efforts such as the University of California at Berkeley Professional Schools Program in India and the Syracuse University Masters in International Public Administration Program should be examined in designing a program specifically related to professional training in the mass media.[41]

The mid-career fellowship is a well established option in journalism as well as in other professional fields. What is needed is an expansion of opportunity and some effort to focus the subjects of study and investigation on interdependence issues. A particular effort should be made, in both mid-career fellowships and the proposed background seminars for news editors, to include non-American perspectives alongside American analyses of interdependence problems.

In a field of human endeavor inhabited by a large number of highly competent professionals like the American mass media, a multi-pronged approach along the lines suggested here is designed not to bring about radical change but rather to engender qualitative improvement at the margins. Even if only one out of ten future professionals in the field were to have a significant exposure to some key interdependence issues as part of his career preparation each year, and if this were continued for ten years, there would begin to develop a critical mass of concern which would have a leavening influence on the field as a whole. If one out of fifty of the most promising correspondents for the electronic and print media were to have a year off for more intensive study in this country and abroad on different aspects of global interdependence, the way in which the mass media would respond to these issues would, after a decade, almost certainly be different than if such opportunities had not been available.

Finally, attention needs to be given to parallel efforts to assist other institutions in our society in working toward greater understanding of global problems and how they affect our lives as well as the lives of others. Trade unions, farm organizations, business corporations, churches, civic and women's groups, and other community-based institutions of non-formal learning such as museums and public libraries all have important contributions to make; some are already actively at work.

IX Education for Interdependence: Why Bother?

The kind of educational transformation for which we have argued in these pages will not come easily. Changing complex social institutions in any fundamental way requires unlimited quantities of sweat and almost certainly some tears, if not blood. It is far less troublesome to maintain the status quo or at best countenance peripheral changes without disturbing the mainstream. Why then bother?

***First*, whether we like it or not, the well-being of this country is increasingly dependent upon stable relations with the outside world. Of the 13 basic raw materials required by a modern economy, the United States in 1950 was dependent on imports for more than half its supplies for only four. By 1970 the list had grown to six, and by 1985 it will grow to a projected nine.**

***Second*, several of the newer problems which most trouble Americans—inflation, environmental decay, drugs, energy shortages—have significant international aspects which must be taken into account if solutions are to be found. Finally, in the long run, in terms of the future political health of a democratic country, it is important that we believe that we fairly earn what we receive. This will not be the kind of country most of us hope to see if, over time, we are slowly persuaded through others' arguments, reinforced by their misery, that we live in luxury at the expense of the rest of the world, considered by others a global parasite.[42]**

Just how the central task on man's future agenda is defined depends on where one stands in relation to the scramble for the world's resources and the struggle for the "good life." Others will have different definitions of this task than we will, but in a globally interdependent world, we can no longer ignore the views of others even if we do not agree with them. Here is a Third World definition of the central task of achieving genuine interdependence which carries with it a deceptively simple message for industrialized countries like the United States:

> "... the central task in moving toward a world where violence is kept within bounds and increasingly made illegitimate, consists in asserting the identity of the oppressed and exploited peoples and evolving structures that will facilitate this assertion. The process must begin by the peripheries encroaching upon the centres, not by the centres accommodating the peripheries through aid or alliance. Aid and alliance, if anything, prevent a real sense of interdependence based on reciprocity. The humanitarianism of the advocates of more aid and the internationalism of the advocates of peace through a balance of power ignore this basic prerequisite of genuine interdependence. . . . This change from dependence to independence to interdependence will have to be brought about by those living in the Third World. *There is little that outsiders can do except, perhaps, if they mean well, refrain from creating further obstacles.*"[43]

If this view of the future is anywhere near the mark, it poses an enormous challenge for those who "mean well" in the industrialized countries. To persuade those who exercise power in these countries to "refrain from creating further obstacles" sounds simple but in fact is not since the process of not "creating further obstacles" will necessarily involve taking steps which will adversely affect the affluent life styles of large numbers of inhabitants of the United States and other countries which appear to have "made it" in the modern world, at least in terms of achieving high levels of consumption.*

In assuming the burdens of Atlas, Robert Heilbroner suggests that "the spirit of conquest and aspiration will not provide the inspiration it needs for this task."[44] On the contrary, achieving the educational transformation which the future demands will require all of the spirit of conquest and aspiration which we possess.

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* See Abraham M. Sirkin, *Living with Interdependence: The Decades Ahead in America*, Interdependence Series No. 2, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, August 1975.

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Notes

Earlier versions of this paper have benefited from the critical comments of a number of persons concerned with the issues discussed in the paper, both in North America and elsewhere. I am indebted to all of them for their help, although responsibility for the end result remains mine.

[1] New York: Norton, 1974. The above quotation is from pp. 143-144.

[2] A good illustration is the first Club of Rome report by Dennis Meadows and his colleagues at MIT, *The Limits of Growth* (Washington: Potomac Associates, 1972), which produced a thunderous volley of criticism, including a full book-length critique by a group working at the University of Sussex (H. Cole *et al., Thinking about the Future: A Critique of The Limits of Growth,* London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).

[3] Energy also illustrates the difficulties of achieving consensus on what we should do about it. One need only look at the dissenting views expressed by members of the advisory board to the Ford Foundation's Energy Policy Project to see just how difficult it is going to be to fashion some kind of political agreement, let alone broader social consensus about what should be done. *(Exploring Energy Choices: A Preliminary Report of the Ford Foundation's Energy Policy Project,* 1974, pp. 99-111.)

[4] Address to the Indian Council on World Affairs, New Delhi. October 28, 1974.

[5] See, for example, Garrett Hardin, "Lifeboat Ethics: The Case Against Helping the Poor," *Psychology Today,* September, 1974.

[6] Jerome Bruner underscores the intimate interrelationship between the content of education and the ideological nature of the social order in "Culture, Politics, and Pedagogy," *Saturday Review,* May 18, 1968. For example, "A theory of instruction is a political theory in the proper sense that it derives from consensus concerning the distribution of power within the society..." (p. 69).

[7] Harold Isaac of M.I.T., in a provocative essay prepared for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on the Nixon "tilt" policy toward Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh, likens this phenomenon to the continuing rearrangement of angles and positions of a turning column of mirrors. The substance of this essay has been included as the preface to the 1972 edition of his still important work undertaken almost two decades ago, *Images of Asia: American Views of China and India,* New York: Harper, 1972 (first published in 1958).

[8] Maynes also makes the important point that "the harsh American attitude toward the permanently poor is often misunderstood because many confuse it with our attitude toward the temporarily afflicted." No nation is any more generous than the U.S. to those faced with sudden and unexpected disaster. This is in fact a natural extension of the basic American vision since victims of unexpected disasters clearly cannot be held responsible for their plight. In short, "We believe poverty can be avoided whereas disaster cannot." (Charles W. Maynes, Jr., "The Hungry New World and the American Ethic," *Washington Post,* December 1, 1974.)

[9] The evidence on this point is not clear cut. Public opinion survey data which I analyzed several years ago in "The Vision of Prophetic Deliverance: The American Working Class and the Third World at the End of the Millennium" (paper prepared for the Conference on Problems, Programs, and Prospects of the American Working Class in the 1970's, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, October 1-2, 1971) suggests that not only are better educated white Protestants and Jews likely to have higher levels of "public regardingness" but so also are lower class blacks. Father Andrew Greeley of the National Opinion Research Center has also developed convincing evidence to challenge the conventional "hard-hat" image of white ethnic blue-collar groups in American society.

[10] Michael W. Moynihan, *Attitudes of Americans on Coping with Interdependence: Findings of Opinion Research Organizations,* Princeton, N.J., Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies Program in International Affairs *(Interdependence Series No. 1),* 1975. See also Bruce Russett, "The Americans' Retreat from World Power," *Political Science Quarterly,* Spring, 1975, pp. 1-21.

[11] This statutory requirement has posed problems in dealing with children entering public schools whose mother tongue is other than English. It was only within the past decade that in New York State this statutory requirement was modified so that instruction might also be given in the child's mother tongue.

[12] See, for example, Oscar Handlin, *The Americans: A New History of the People of the United States,* Boston: Little Brown, 1963, p. 339, and Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 38. The nature of this historical role for American public education and the problems of adjusting to the globally interdependent world of the present are discussed in Ward Morehouse, "A New Chapter in our Social and Intellectual History: American Education in a Revolutionary World," *Michigan Journal of Secondary Education,* Fall, 1965, pp. 55-62.

[13] The problem is not, of course, peculiarly American. The emergence of what Harold Isaacs calls those "primordial ties" of tribe, caste, race, class, and religion which bind men together and set them apart from one another has been one of the dominant characteristics of human history in the last 30 years and has led to some 34 major "ethnic-cultural blood lettings," resulting in over 7 million deaths since 1945. Harold R. Isaacs, "Group Identity and Political Change: The Houses of Muumbi" (paper prepared for American Political Science Association Meetings, Chicago, September, 1971, August 1, 1971); Robert D. Crane, "Post War Ethnic Cultural Conflicts: Some Quantitative and Other Considerations" (unpublished paper), Croton on Hudson, New York: Hudson Institute, March 1968, as cited in Isaacs, *Ibid.*

[14] The consequences of this incongruent relationship are discussed in Ward Morehouse, "Provincialism and Constitutionalism: The Role of the States in Foreign Area Studies," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* November, 1974, pp. 119-125.

[15] Given the long lead times required to develop the highly trained human resources and assemble them in critical masses in universities or other research institutions, a decade is probably the minimum period for making projections of future needs. But our track record in matching academic manpower to future needs and demand (which are not necessarily the same) is so poor as to inspire little confidence among political decision makers. Nor is there much evidence that the political will can be generated to act *in anticipation* of future needs over long lead times, which remains one of our basic difficulties in dealing with interdependence-related issues.

[16] The World Studies Data Bank, now operated by the Academy for Educational Development, was initiated in the late 1960's by Education and World Affairs and has been supported by the Agency for International Development, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State and U.S. Office of Education.

[17] Kissinger apparently found the exchange sufficiently fruitful to ask that another meeting be scheduled this spring. The Kissinger/Reston interview appeared in the *New York Times*, October 13, 1974.

[18] Committee on the Professional School and World Affairs, *The Professional School and World Affairs* (Irwin T. Sanders, Study Director), Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967.

[19] *New York Times*, January 15, 1975 (Annual Education Section).

[20] On the retreat of liberal learning, see, for example, Wm. Theodore deBary, "General Education and the Humanities," *Seminar Reports*, New York: General and Continuing Education Seminar, Columbia University, October 22, 1973, and Ronald Berman, "An Unquiet Quiet on Campus," *New York Times Magazine*, February 10, 1974. DeBary also proposes a "new synthesis" of liberal learning and education for the professions. DeBary's views are criticized in a thoughtful comment on his paper by Joseph J. Schwab, who argues not for a "new synthesis" (which he thinks cannot really be achieved) but instead for organizing liberal and professional education around six groups of arts or competences (access, communication, enquiry, overarching disciplines, "the practical," and "the eclectic"); see Schwab, "On Reviving Liberal Education in the 1970's" (unpublished paper, September 24, 1973).

[21] See, for example, Ivan Putman, Jr., editor, *The Community College Looks to the 21st Century:* (Report of a Six-State Regional Workshop on International Education sponsored by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Council on Intercultural Studies and Programs, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies of the New York State Education Department, State University of New York, and Tri-State Consortium for International Education, Suffern, N. Y., March 1-2, 1974), New York and Washington: Foreign Area Materials Center and AACJC, 1974; John Carpenter and Galo Plaza, *The Intercultural Imperative*, New York, Washington, and New Delhi: Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, and Educational Resources Center of the University of the State of New York, June, 1973; Robert A. Marshall *et al., Can Man Transcend His Culture: The Next Challenge for Global Understanding* (Report of a Seminar at Lake Chapala, Mexico, State Colleges and Universities, 1973); and H. Kenneth Barker, editor, *AACTE Handbook of International Education Programs*, Washington: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1963.

[22] One of the principal products of this program is *Teaching Notes on Population*, an occasional bulletin edited by Parker Marden of Lawrence University and published by the Foreign Area Materials Center in New York City.

[23] Some, but by no means all, of these organizations are described in Ward Morehouse and Jane Meskill, *Organizational Atlas on Diffusion of International/Intercultural Education*, New York: Foreign Area Materials Center, June, 1974, (Interim Edition), an outgrowth of another American Council on Education government-academic task force on diffusion of international education. See also David Horton Smith *et al., Voluntary Transnational Cultural Exchange Organizations of the U.S.: A Selected List*, Washington: Center for a Voluntary Society, April, 1974.

[24] An article summarizing the principal findings of the survey, "An Examination of the Structure and Objectives of International Education," by Lee F. Anderson *(Social Education*, November, 1968) has recently been reissued by the Center for War/Peace Studies. See also *Global Dimensions in U.S. Education*, a series of separate assessments of elementary, secondary, higher and adult education published by the Center for War/Peace Studies in 1972, and John A. Carpenter and Judith V. Torney, "Beyond the Melting Pot" in *Children and Intercultural Education: Overview and Research*, Washington: Association for Childhood Education International, 1974, which underscores the vital importance of beginning education on interdependence issues in the early formative years of the elementary school.

[25] National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, *The Reform of Secondary Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, p. 16. The Commission was established and supported by the Kettering Foundation.

[26] *International Education: A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the New York State Board of Regents*, (No. 5 in a series), Albany: State Education Department, University of the State of New York, 1970.

A survey of state education agency activities in international education is now in progress and will be issued in the fall of 1975 by the Council of Chief State School Officers.

[27] John Goodlad *et al., Toward a Mankind School: An Adventure in Humanistic Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

[28] See, for example, Barry K. Beyer and E. Perry Hicks, *Images of Africa: A Report on What American Secondary School Students Know and Believe about Africa South of the Sahara*, Pittsburgh: Project Africa, Carnegie Mellon University, 1968. This study indicates just how enduring are stereotypes about Africa as a land of jungles, wild animals, and pygmies generated by television programs, movies, and popular literature such as *Daktari* and *Tarzan*.

[29] Robert Hanvey, "An Attainable Global Perspective," (unpublished paper prepared for the Center for War/Peace Studies, 1975), p. 2.

[30] Hanvey, *Ibid*, pp. 5-6. In defining the role which these characteristics of the mass media suggest for the formal educational process in dealing with the problems of global interdependence, Hanvey insists that "at the very least every young person should have experiences in school that demonstrate in a lasting fashion (1) the substratum of the visible event and (2) the effects of culture on the perception of human affairs. Thus educated, the person's reactions to reports in the media should be, minimally, 'There's more there than meets the eye,' and 'Other eyes would see it differently.' "

[31] "Sight and Sound: The Ugly Indian," *Times of India* (New Delhi), March 30, 1975.

[32] "The Media and the Third World," *Newsweek*, April 7, 1975.

[33] See "On Civic Literacy," a working draft paper by Warren L. Zeigler of the Syracuse Educational Policy Research Center (July, 1974) and *Civic Literacy: The Bulletin of the Future of Adult Education and Learning Project*, published by the same center.

[34] Chadwick F. Alger, *The International Relations of Cities: Creating Images of Alternative Presents,* (Columbus in the World/The World in Columbus Project Report No. 1), Columbus: Transnational Intellectual Cooperation Program, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, June, 1974. Related is the idea of having colleges and universities develop local community simulations in which energy would be the key variable in determining alternative future scenarios for living in a particular community and in which both students and the adult community would participate as a learning experience on how one interdependence issue may affect our future. This idea, which also included training of faculty members and community leaders in using such simulations, was recently proposed to the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education as a means of furthering community involvement of colleges and universities in dealing with the problems of global interdependence, but the Fund failed to respond to the opportunity thus offered. Perhaps other agencies can be induced to support the idea as one small step in using education as a means of helping to cope with interdependence.

[35] Henry R. Nau, "Interpreting U.S. Foreign Policy on Food and Energy," (paper prepared for Symposium on Science and Foreign Policy: The Food-Energy Relationship, American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York, January 30, 1970), p. 15.

[36] Rajni Kothari, "World Peace and Human Dignity," in Christoph Wulf, *Handbook on Peace Education,* International Peace Research Association, as quoted in Magnus Haavelsrud and Robin Richardson, "Peace Education: Theory and Praxis," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals,* Volume 5 (1974), p. 198.

[37] Kothari, *ibid.* Kothari is appealing for the same kind of post-patronizing relationship between rich and poor nations of which Harlan Cleveland speaks in "The Macroproblem of Modernization" (address at the Circum-Pacific Energy and Mineral Resources Conference, Honolulu, August 26, 1974). Cleveland quotes Miriam Camps in *The Management of Interdependence* in his appeal for a new kind of relationship: "Why should the poor in the rich countries help the rich in the poor countries?" One might well also ask, in the same post-patronizing spirit, the reverse question: Why should the poor in the poor countries help the rich in the rich countries, the more so since most people in rich countries are rich by world standards?

[38] The origins, current status, and future plans on the World Order Models Project are described in the "Editor's Introduction" by Saul Mendlovitz in one of the basic studies already published: Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and Design for an Alternative,* New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1974.

[39] As an alternative, the "interdependence" aspects of the top 10 existing priorities of ongoing programs of educational change and improvement might be identified where relevant, and one or two per cent of budget allocations devoted to these aspects within the framework of efforts to deal with existing priorities.

[40] A good illustration of private foundation initiative in devising strategies to deal with interdependence issues is the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Project to Study the Implications of Growth Policy for Postsecondary Education. See *Growth and Education,* Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1974.

[41] Foreign currencies owned by the United States Government, which are in excess of normal U.S. government requirements, could be used to provide overseas internship/study experiences for students in the communications field as well as overseas components of mid-career fellowships in countries such as Egypt, India, Pakistan, and possibly Poland. These countries reflect, by and large, different perspectives on major interdependence issues from the United States and would therefore serve the important purpose of providing an opportunity for those participating in these activities to look more closely at these issues from different vantage points. Use of such funds would have the unusual virtue of not involving additional cost to the U.S. taxpayer since they are non-convertible into dollars and will otherwise sit unused in these countries, with their value eroded through inflation.

[42] Charles W. Maynes, "The Hungry New World and the American Ethic," *Washington Post,* December 1, 1974.

[43] Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future,* New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1974, p. 104.

[44] Heilbroner, *op. cit.,* p. 144.

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